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ABSTRACT

This document contains a summary of a policy seminar, "Family Centered Social Policy: The Emerging Agenda," a background briefing report on the seminar, and a 50-item reference list. The first section summarizes presentations by K. M. Harris on a Baltimore study of teen mothers' welfare experience; Robert Lerman on young fathers; and Janet Quint on developing, managing, and evaluating two research and demonstration programs, Project Redirection and New Chance. Topics covered in the briefing report include (1) scope of the problem of teenage parenthood, including teenage welfare dependency and poverty, public costs, and intergenerational consequences; (2) adolescent mothers in later life, including a summary of the Baltimore study; (3) the role of young fathers in the poverty of teen parenthood; (4) programs that help teenage mothers; (5) programs that help young fathers; and (6) implications for policy. (CML)

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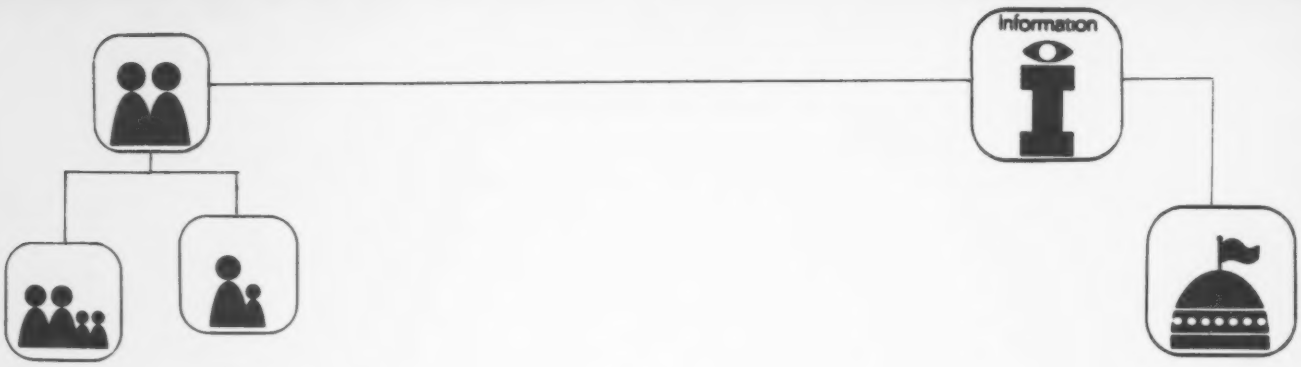

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Teenage Parenthood, Poverty and Dependency: Do We Know How to Help?

October 13, 1989, Mansfield Room (S.207), the U.S. Capitol

Panelists: **Kathleen Mullan Harris, Ph.D.**, social demographer and research associate, the University of Pennsylvania
Robert I. Lerman, Ph.D., economist and Chairman of the Economics Department at American University
Janet Quint, Ph.D., sociologist and senior research associate, Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation

Moderator: **Theodora Ooms**, Director, Family Impact Seminar

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BACKGROUND BRIEFING REPORT.....pages 1 to 31

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Teenage Parenthood, Poverty and Dependency: Do We Know How to Help?

Background Briefing Report
and
Meeting Highlights

Theodora Ooms and Lisa Herendeen

This policy seminar is one in a series of monthly seminars for policy staff titled, *Family Centered Social Policy: The Emerging Agenda*, conducted by the **Family Impact Seminar**, American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy, Research and Education Foundation, 1717 K. Street, N.W. Suite 407, Washington, D.C. 20006, 202/429-1825

This seminar was co-sponsored by the Coalition of Family Organizations and funded by the C.S. Mott Foundation.

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The National Council on Family Relations (NCFR)

Teenage Parenthood, Poverty and Dependency: Do We Know How to Help?

(Highlights of the seminar meeting held on October 13, 1989, S. 207 U.S. Capitol)

Adolescent parenthood is strongly associated with poverty and welfare dependency. What has been learned about how to help teenage parents overcome the economic disadvantages of early childbearing? Many teen parent programs have been enacted since the 1960s but only a few have studied the results of such interventions over time. At the October 13th seminar, three researchers discussed what their longitudinal studies have shown about the nature of the problems and how to help teenage mothers (and fathers) become more economically self-sufficient and provide a better environment for their children.

A study of teenage mothers in Baltimore, followed for 17 years by Dr. Frank Furstenberg and his colleagues, provides the best longitudinal data to date on the long-term consequences of teenage childbearing. **Kathleen Harris,** a research associate at the University of Pennsylvania, who worked on the study for several years, discussed its major findings as well as her own research on their welfare experience to explain why some teenage mothers are more economically successful than others.

The Baltimore study began following the lives of these mothers when their first child was born in 1966 and continued to trace events in their lives for 17 years with the last interview in 1984. The study began with about 400 women, enrolled in a comprehensive care clinic but only 300 women were followed for all 17 years. These mothers were interviewed during pregnancy and then 1, 3, and 5 years following their teenage birth. Their progress was compared with a comparison group of young women who had not become pregnant during adolescence. At the 17 year follow up, a comprehensive life history of the mothers was recorded. Their children who were now adolescents were also interviewed. The large majority of the Baltimore mothers were black and unmarried and practically all came from very poor families. One half came from a single parent household; 1/4 of the families were on welfare; 1/5 of their parents were high school graduates; and 3/4 of their parents had also become parents in their teens.

The results of the study, published in the book *Adolescent Mothers in Later Life* (Furstenberg, et al. 1987 a.& b.), shows a high degree of diversity in how these mothers responded to their early setbacks. Over the long run, many of the women had managed to return to school, get off welfare, and find stable employment. The research finds that teenage parenthood does not inevitably lead to a life of poverty and disadvantage. Harris noted that it is important to look at the process by which some teenage parents do manage to do well in later life in order to obtain some clues as to how to help teen mothers who aren't doing well (for more details see pp. 6 & 7).

Harris made several observations about the Baltimore mothers' welfare dependency based on her research (see Harris, forthcoming).

- First, a major surprising finding was that so many of these women worked. Of the 25% of the mothers on welfare, each year on average, half of these recipients were also working. Only 4.4 %, that is, 13 women, were on welfare the entire 17 year period following their first birth. Of these 13 women, only one never worked.

- Previous research on welfare patterns of female heads of households of all ages found that marriage or reconciliation was the primary route out of welfare and that exits through earnings increases occurred less often. In contrast, among teenage mothers in the Baltimore study, 60% of all welfare spells ended when the mother found work or changed jobs. Only 19% end welfare when they marry or cohabit.

- Exits from welfare through employment occur more rapidly and are more permanent for black teenage mothers than for other welfare mothers. Harris believes there are several reasons to account for this: teenage mothers on welfare generally have fewer children than all single mothers on welfare making it easier to work; marriage prospects are poorer for black women because of high unemployment for young black men; and thus rates of marriage are much lower for black women than for white women.

- The factors that determine a woman's success in the labor market are the factors that determine who has short spells of welfare and who has longer spells. Women who can get the better-paying, more stable jobs leave welfare quickly. The women who can only get the low-paying jobs remain on welfare for longer periods because these jobs do not lift them out of dependency.

- Education is the most critical factor in the Baltimore mothers economic experience. The women who graduate high school are 3 times more likely to leave welfare through work than high school dropouts. Women high school graduates who work while receiving welfare, are twice as likely to leave welfare than those who work but did not finish high school. A high school education also increases the chances that the woman will marry and leave welfare. High school graduates are 2 1/2 times more likely to leave welfare through marriage than high school dropouts.

- Child care constraints are also an important fact in welfare dependency. An additional birth, or the presence of young children, deters women from leaving welfare.

- Another interesting finding is that women who entered welfare because of a separation or divorce had longer periods of dependency than women who entered welfare at the time of the first birth. Harris suggested that this occurs because women who marry early have additional children and drop out of high school. When their marriages fail, they enter welfare with these additional burdens.

Teen welfare typology: In Harris's research, she describes four groups of women according to their patterns of welfare receipt as follows: no welfare (30%), early exits (22%), persistent (30%) and recidivists (18%). (see Table I, pp. 31 & 32). The mothers who **never received welfare**, had high educational goals, were more likely to maintain a stable marriage, did not grow up in a welfare family and had smaller families. Interestingly, the **early exit** women who spend only 1 or 2 years on welfare resemble the women with no welfare experience. The more **persistent** recipients came from disadvantaged families, were the youngest at pregnancy, performed poorly in school and had low educational aspirations. **Recidivists** can be characterized by instability. They were more likely to marry early and thus they faced a higher probability of divorce and separation. Yet they exhibited a strong motivation to leave welfare, evidenced by the number of times they ended receipt.

Experience of the children: The children of the mothers were also interviewed and the results were quite disturbing and suggest that the negative effects of teen childbearing are experienced most by the second generation. In 1984 the school performance of the children was characterized as "massive school failure". Half of the sample had repeated at least 1 grade, 17% were in remedial classes and nearly a half had had serious behavioral problems in school. Also teen

pregnancy rates were higher than among children of later childbearers. By 1984, 16% reported a pregnancy (26% of the girls and 7% of the boys).

It was found that the mothers' economic status had pervasive effects on the children's lives. If the mother had dropped out of school, was unmarried, or received welfare outcomes for the children were unfavorable. However, concluded Harris, as the mother's life and economic situation improved so did the child's life, indicating that it is never too late for effective intervention. Harris also added that job training and preparation, child support enforcement, child care provisions, and health care all can help a mother overcome her disadvantages and this in turn can help her children have successful lives.

Ooms introduced **Robert Lerman,** chairman of the Economics Department, American University, who talked about the neglected partner in early childbearing, the young fathers and some ideas about how to improve their economic situation. Ooms noted that Lerman had compiled the first national profile of the characteristics of young unwed fathers based on analysis of a national longitudinal study (see pages 11-13).

Lerman began by saying it is important to look historically at the trends that have lead to the current problem of high rates of illegitimacy and non-marriage, especially among blacks. Moynihan, in a highly publicized and controversial study, first alerted the nation to this trend among blacks in the sixties. A current theory gaining widespread acceptance, proposed by William Julius Wilson, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, is known as the "marriageable pool" or "male job opportunity " thesis: namely, that as job opportunities of black men have declined so have black marriage rates. But, Lerman asserted, this theory has some major problems and is not supported by some of the evidence. For example, in the1930s, black marriage rates were as high as, or higher than, white despite the fact that black earnings were much lower than white. The Wilson theory would suggest that as education rises, and men become more " marriageable", marriage rates among blacks would also rise. However marriage rates among college educated black men have also been falling drastically, and are about the same as for black high school dropouts (see Lerman, 1989 b.).

Why do people get married? asked Lerman. According to economic theorist Gary Becker, people gain more economically through marriage than they do as individuals, or at least that used to be true. Today marriage rates are down for both whites and blacks, but a much higher proportion of black are having children outside of marriage than whites. The reason for this, Lerman suggested, could be that there is less stigma to child raising outside of marriage in the black community. Also the fact that black women often earn nearly as much as black men provides less economic incentive for them to marry. In the white population, white men earn a good deal more than white women, making women more likely to marry them.

To understand in more depth about the phenomenon, Lerman said he had found it helpful to turn to the findings of two studies examining patterns of young family formation conducted by urban anthropologists: one by Elijah Anderson (1989) who studied young black men in Philadelphia, and the second by Mercer Sullivan (1986) who studied Black, white and Puerto Rican young men in three communities in New York City. These findings differed somewhat. In the Philadelphia study, Anderson found there was considerably less stigma, and in fact sometimes even peer approval, attached to young men who fathered a child out-of-wedlock and then didn't take care of him or her. Indeed, while there was considerable peer pressure among the young men to father a child there was also much peer support for avoiding taking responsibility for the child and not "getting caught". While there were some young men in Philadelphia who behaved more honorably, they were usually not strongly connected to their peer group.

In New York, Sullivan found a somewhat different picture. He reported that there was more expressed peer and community disapproval of those young men who fathered a child but who disavowed responsibility.

Lerman suggested policymakers needed to take a leap and think about broad, long run strategies that may not have a quick and early pay off. He was proposing a broad, **universal job-based education program** that would not only help young mothers and fathers but non-college bound youth in general. Lerman outlined the central features of a high school curriculum starting in the late junior high school years which would establish formal internships and apprenticeships on site in the work place (see Lerman, 1988 (b)). It would provide marketable skills and establish a formal link to middle-range jobs. In addition, through working alongside mature adults, youth would be exposed to a constructive set of values and models countering their reliance on those of their peers. Such an apprenticeship program would be especially useful to urban black youth who are not keyed into a job network, and are, in general, more socially isolated than white kids. It would also address national goals of improving productivity and the increasing earnings gap between college and non-college bound youth.

Janet Quint, a senior research associate at the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC), presented the major findings of their nine years of experience in developing, managing, and evaluating two research and demonstration programs, called **Project Redirection** and a new program, **New Chance.** Overall there is good news and bad news, said Quint. The good news is that for the first time, from the Project Redirection experience, we have strong, compelling evidence about the long-term effectiveness of comprehensive programs for disadvantaged teenage mothers, not only for the young women themselves but also for the development of their children. Also, we have a good idea about new program directions for the future. The bad news is that the program wasn't effective in all areas that it was aimed to effect, and specifically, it did not help to alleviate poverty for the majority of the participants.

Project Redirection was a multi-site program, implemented in 1980, geared toward young mothers and pregnant teens aged 17 and under who had not completed high school and who were receiving or were eligible to receive AFDC (see pages 16-19 for more details). The program sought to enhance the teens' education and job-seeking, parenting, and life management skills, while at the same time encouraging them to delay further childbearing until they were more self-sufficient. The inclusion of world-of-work activities in Redirection was quite unusual at that time, Quint noted. Most programs serving young mothers tended to focus exclusively on education, health and parenting. The scale of the program was relatively small--50 or 100 participants at any given time in each site--to promote a family-like feeling. The average cost of the program was $3500 per participant. The average stay was just under a year. The program used community women both as role models and mentors for the young mothers and to extend the administrative capacity of program staff by acting as "case managers," monitoring the teens' attendance at school, program activities, and outside appointments and reporting progress and problems back to the program staff.

Project Redirection's impact evaluation design avoided many of the problems of previous program evaluations. It involved a sample of about 700 teens, equally divided between members of the experimental, or treatment group and a comparison group, whose members were drawn from other cities. The sample was interviewed at the start of the program and then one year and two years later. Despite the strengths of the research design, there are two problems to be aware of said Quint. The first is that the evaluation did not use an experimental design, in which those eligible for the program are assigned *at random* to the treatment or to a control group but used a quasi-experimental design with a comparison group. This inevitably raises questions about the comparability of the two groups.

The second problem, noted Quint, concerns the extent to which the experimental group received services (the treatment) unavailable to the comparison group. In fact, contrary to expectations, due to the proliferation of teen pregnancy programs many of the comparison group did receive somewhat similar services . Thus, the research, rather than comparing the effects of participation in Project Redirection against a minimal treatment, looks instead at the *incremental* effects of Project Redirection above and beyond the less intensive, more fragmented, but not insubstantial services received by the comparison group.

The initial results of the evaluation at the two year point were quite disappointing. However, the results of a five year follow-up conducted on about half of the original sample offer grounds for encouragement. At five years the major positive impacts were:

- **Employment and welfare receipt:** Project Redirection participants were more likely to be employed, worked more hours per week, and had significantly higher weekly earnings. They were also signiicantly less likely to be receiving public assistance.

- **Parenting and child development outcomes:** MDRC used the Home Observation for Measurement of Environment (HOME) scale to measure parenting. The Project Redirection mothers did significantly better than the comparison women. On a test of vocabulary skills the children of the Redirection participants scored significantly higher. And on a scale of problem behaviors, Redirection children exhibited two fewer problem behaviors, on average, than children of the comparison women.

Quint also discussed the disappointing negative outcomes from the study:

- **Fertility:** In the area of childbearing, which other studies have suggested is particularly hard to affect, the Redirection participants actually had more children than children of comparison group members -- 2.4 vs. 2.0 respectively. However, it is important to note that the two groups had virtually identical rates of pregnancy. (The comparison group were more likely to resolve a pregnancy through abortion.)

- **Poverty:** Project Redirection lessened dependency but not poverty: the household incomes were similar for the two groups. While the Redirection women had higher earnings, they were also less likely to receive welfare, and it appears that these two income sources substituted for each other. Many of the women remained poor.

- **Education:** The project had no effect on educational outcomes: there was no difference between the two groups in the percentage with a high school diploma or GED.

Building on some of the lessons of Project Redirection, MDRC developed and is currently operating a national, multi-site demonstration program called **New Chance**, which will focus on 17-19 year-olds who are too old for school-based programs and who have largely been ignored by the WIN and JTPA systems. Younger and older teens have different needs, and older teen mothers are more likely to be interested in employment than their younger counterparts. Therefore New Chance places greater emphasis on career exploration and vocational skills training.

The New Chance impact analysis will employ an experimental design. Approximately 2500 young women who are eligible for the program will be randomly assigned either to the treatment or to a control group and then followed up over three years. Program operations will last at least 36 months, and completion of the final research report is scheduled for 1995.

Points Made During Discussion

The seminar moderator, Theodora Ooms, opened the discussion by raising three questions that she felt had emerged from the presentations:

-- As states move to implement the Family Support Act, the question arises how do you institutionalize successful demonstration programs, such as Project Redirection, characterized by creativity, innovation and flexibility, into regular, large scale, bureaucratically administered programs?

-- The Baltimore study provides a strong argument for targetting programs on those teenage parents who are most at risk of long term dependency, but how can this be done and what would such targetting cost since they are the most expensive to help?

-- One of the most striking findings in all the studies is the strong positive economic effect of marital stability. Should we be doing more to try to build in some incentives, or directly change the values and behavior, to help young people marry and **stay married?**

- Echoing this third question, one participant noted that the research shows that the two main routes out of welfare are to either get married or get a good paying job. We have only been discussing the latter strategy, but not how young people stay married. She asked why schools and community groups are not providing family life education for boys and girls so that they learn to cope better with intimate relationships?

- A participant mentioned the research of another urban anthropologist, Robin Jarrett who studied gender roles among young low income black women and their feelings about marriage (see below, Jarrett, 1989). Many of these poor women do not get married, as the men have little to offer them in terms of economic stability, but they do have long-term relationships with men. This study showed that poor black women do not value traditional role-relations within marriage but favor more egalitarian relationships. The participant felt that the kind of apprenticeship program Lerman recommends was a good idea because it would help these young women be financially independent and not have to get married in order to obtain economic security.

  Lerman replied that right now we are *only* training young women and we are disregarding young men. "People bring different things to child rearing," he continued. "Improving the earning prospects of women who become mothers, still won't have a sufficiently large impact. Two people are needed to raise kids, even if two parent families sometimes have trouble. I am sympathetic with women who don't want to deal with an unstable, possibly violent man, but that doesn't mean that its a healthy situation. We need major changes (in public policy). These small demonstrations make a very bad situation a little better and that's important. But we are sitting in the U.S. Congress here and if we can't think of broader policies, long run policies that can make a major difference, I think we're going to be very disappointed in a number of decades from now."

- It is interesting that parent education services were rated as having the highest value by teenage mothers in the 5-year follow-up study of Project Redirection, said a participant. Quint agreed that parenting education was associated with positive outcomes. Project Redirection was not oriented toward employment assistance; in New Chance there is much more emphasis on job training. Ooms noted that these programs provide parent education but *not* marriage education.

- If unemployment didn't cause low marriage rates in blacks then why is Lerman proposing to emphasize job training as a solution to the problem of single parenthood? asked a participant. Also Lerman's apprenticeship idea implies such low expectations for what these young men can achieve, maybe they can be doctors and lawyers?

  Lerman replied to the second question that even if blacks achieved the same educationally as the population as a whole, half of today's kids are not going to college. He added that in the experience of other countries who had tried apprenticeship programs, many times after apprenticeship, some young people will go on to college. They are more likely to go to college from an apprenticeship training than from unemployment or the underground economy.

  How would the apprenticeship program Lerman recommends solve the marriage problem? Lerman replied that one of the arguements for it is that the apprenticeship experience helps to change the broader values of the peer group, so that the individual who remains in the underground economy becomes the exception not the norm.

- Why would these young women want to become parents? asked a participant. Harris replied that the Baltimore mothers in the 1960s didn't have the options available today because abortion was illegal. For the most part none of these pregnancies were planned, she said.

  Janet Quint added that in their study women chose to keep their babies. "A question that arises from the MDRC study is why was there a higher number of repeat pregnancies among the women in Project Redirection, than in the comparison group," said Quint. "I think there are significant psychological benefits for the women in being a parent, that weren't available from any other aspect of their lives," she added. However, even though the Redirection women had more children they were more likely to be working than those in the comparison group. Having additional children wasn't an automatic barrier to entering the workforce.

- Were any of the organizations providing services for Redirection religiously oriented and therefore not willing to talk about birth control? asked a participant. Even if the services were being provided through a religiously oriented organization, birth control was discussed.

Additional references:

Anderson, Elijah "Sex Codes and Family Life Among Inner-City Youth," in the *Annuals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 501, January, 1989.

Jarrett, Robin, "Gender Roles Among Low Income Black Women," paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting in August 1989. Available from Dr. Jarrett, Sociology Department, Loyola University, 6525, N. Sheridan Road, Chicago, ILL 60626.

Sullivan, Mercer, "Ethnographic Research on Young Fathers and Parenting: Implications for Public Policy." Paper prepared for the conference on Young Unwed Fathers sponsored by the Assistance Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, DHHS and held in Washington D.C. in October 1986. Available from Project SHARE, P.O. Box 2309, Rockville, MD 20852. A revised version will be published in Lerman and Ooms eds. forthcoming.

TEENAGE PARENTHOOD, POVERTY AND DEPENDENCY: DO WE KNOW HOW TO HELP?

Background Briefing Report

INTRODUCTION

New research provides increasing evidence that early childbearing is strongly linked with poverty and long term welfare dependency. Yet recent efforts aimed at the poverty of female headed families, such as welfare reform and improved child support enforcement pay little attention to the special needs and problems of teenage mothers. And the contribution of young fathers to the problems of teen parenthood and its remedies have been essentially ignored.

This seminar, and background briefing report, reflects a growing interest in the findings of research on teenage motherhood, in the policy lessons to be learned from programs specifically targeting this population, and on the problems, needs and responsibilities of young fathers as well as the teen mothers. The research reviewed here suggests that the problems of teenage parenthood need to be approached as part of a broader strategy to help improve the economic circumstances of both young parents, and to alleviate family poverty in general.

(*Note on definition of terms:* In using the terms " single parent " or "mother-only family" we follow the literature and common usage which defines family in terms of households. However we do so reluctantly since most children living with one parent do have another living parent-- whether divorced, separated, or never-married-- and this absent parent needs to be acknowledged. We would prefer to use the more descriptive term " single parent or mother-only *household.*" We use the terms "teenage" and "adolescents" interchangeably to include youth aged from 14 through age 19.)

SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

At the heart of the widespread concern about the "breakdown" of the American family, is the rapid growth in the proportion of single mothers and the attendant "feminization of poverty". In 1986 nearly one in four children lived with a single parent. Most commonly the rise in divorce rates is blamed, yet out-of-wedlock childbearing plays an increasing role in the problem of single parenthood. Between 1970 and 1984 the proportion of children in single parent homes who were born out-of-wedlock rose from 6.8% to 24% (See Chart 1 on page 30.) About a third of the mothers of all children born out-of-wedlock were teenagers at the time of their birth.

In the fifties the high rates of early childbearing aroused little concern. Adolescent childbearing was at its peak at the height of the baby boom when nearly a half of all women wed in their teens and over a quarter had their first birth before they were 20 years old. Public alarm began to register in the early seventies when teenage motherhood became much more visible. Teen births became a much larger proportion of all births (the birth rate

for older women declined sharply) and the huge cohort of baby boomers reached adolescence so the sheer numbers of births to teenagers escalated.

Most importantly, teenagers were much less likely to marry and thus the proportion of teen non-marital births soared, from 14% in 1955 to 56% in 1984. Black marriage rates, which in 1950 were higher than white plummeted in the sixties and seventies at a much faster rate (Ricketts, 1989). Thus, currently, 45% of births to white teenagers (including Hispanics) and 90% of births to black teens are out-of-wedlock.

These are the demographic dimensions of the problem. But what is the nature of the concern? But why is teenage childbearing, and especially unwed teen parenthood, a problem for public policy? Is it because teenage parenthood is indeed a " one-way ticket " to poverty and long term dependency?

There are three, separate, but related aspects to the current concern about adolescent parenthood: its strong linkage to poverty and dependency; the high public costs of programs responding to the needs of the teen parents and their children; and the negative long run consequences for the next generation, the children of the teen parents. Even though the stereotype of teenage parents portrayed in the media considerably exaggerates the bleakness of their situation, their problems are clearly of sufficient magnitude to merit serious and sustained policy attention.

Teenage Welfare Dependency and Poverty.
(Sources: Committee on Ways and Means; Bane and Ellwood, 1983; Ellwood, 1988; McLanahan, 1989; Committee on Ways and Means, 1989; Pittman and Adams, 1988.)

Recent studies have examined the characteristics of different sub-groups of the welfare population, and the duration and cycling of spells of welfare dependency. They have also highlighted the serious economic consequences of unwed childbearing, especially for teenage mothers and their children:

- Children born out-of-wedlock comprise the largest sub-group of the welfare population. In 1986-1987, 52.2% of AFDC children were born to unmarried parents as compared to 31.3% whose parents were divorced or separated.

- Nearly half of all teen mothers, and nearly three-quarters of unmarried teen mothers, will receive welfare assistance within four years of giving birth.

- Mothers receiving AFDC who gave birth out-of-wedlock as teens were the group at highest risk of becoming long term welfare recipients. Forty percent of young never-married mothers who entered the welfare program when their child was less then 3 years old spent 10 years or more on AFDC.

- Roughly one of every two single mothers is living below the poverty line. In 1986 46% of single mothers with children and only 7% of married couples with children were poor. Both rates are essentially unchanged from 1970.

- The most common way of leaving AFDC is either through marriage or through the dependent children becoming adult. Only about 20% of the exits from AFDC are directly attributable to the increased earnings of women who remain single parents.

Teenage mothers are more likely than other single mothers to be poor. More of them have failed to complete high school, they have less job experience and consequently they have a lower earning capacity. In addition, unmarried mothers of all ages are much less likely to be employed than other single mothers. Also, most teen mothers are unwed. If, and when, they marry, their marriages are more unstable. And unwed mothers are much less likely to receive child support than other types of single mothers. According to census data only 18% of never-married mothers 18 years and older have court-ordered support awards compared with 82% of divorced and 43% of separated mothers. And only 11% of never-married mothers reported officially receiving any support.

The poverty of single parent families, especially with young children, has several unique dimensions. Single parents need to fulfill dual roles of provider and nurturer, and it is extremely difficult for them to juggle both responsibilities. In addition, four factors help explain why mother-only families are so much more likely to be poor and dependent than two-parent families: 1. The low earning capacity of the mother; 2. The lack of child support from the non-residential father; 3. The low level of benefits provided by the state; 4. The nature of the welfare system which "humiliates, stigmatizes and isolates" the mothers while offering few supports or incentives to become economically independent (Ellwood, 1988).

Public Costs.
(Sources: Burt and Levy, 1987; Committee on Ways and Means, 1989; Moore, 1989; Moore and Burt, 1982.)

There have been several attempts to calculate the public costs of teenage childbearing to the using a number of different assumptions and measurements. Here are two of the most often cited:

- Moore and Burt estimate that 40-50% of current AFDC dollars goes to women who were originally, or still are, teenage mothers.

- Burt and Levy's estimate is that in 1985 the total federal and state public outlays for AFDC, Medicaid and food stamps attributable to teenage childbearing was $16.65 billion.

The recent attention paid to the costs of early childbearing is not due to sudden escalation in the number of teen births or their public costs. The rate of teen births has declined slightly among teens aged 15-19, while staying virtually unchanged among those under 15 (Child Trends, 1989). In the past decade, the number of AFDC recipients has remained pretty stable and benefit levels have declined in real terms. The newly aroused concern appears to reflect increased public reluctance to provide long term public support to enable single mothers to stay at home and care for their children now that the majority of married, and divorced, mothers are in the labor force. This shift in attidude also undoubtedly reflects a greater recognition of the negative consequences of long term dependency and poverty for the children of welfare mothers.

Intergenerational Consequences.
(Sources: Hofferth, 1988; Garfinkle, & McLanahan, 1986; McLanahan, 1988; McLanahan 1989a and b.;)

Is single parenthood and economic dependency in one generation transmitted to the next generation? There is a substantial and growing body of research exploring this question.

In addition many studies examine the effects of marital status on children's health, development and well-being. They have compared the I.Q., school achievement, levels of education and earnings, and the marital stability of children raised in single parent homes with children raised in two parent homes. One of the major methodological challenges of this stream of research has been to try to disentangle the separate effects of income from marital status.

We attempt here to summarize briefly some of the major conclusions emerging from the research on the intergenerational consequences of single parenthood. We lean heavily on several recent comprehensive reviews of this literature (cited above). Unfortunately, for our purposes, most of these studies do not analyze the effects for teenage or never-married mothers separately from other types of single mothers. Since most teenage mothers are single parents for a number of years at least, this research has considerable relevance. However, the experience of being raised by an unmarried teenage mother is clearly different in a number of ways from the experience of being raised in a family who go through separation and divorce. Thus our focus is primarily on the outcomes of single parenthood that are directly linked with poverty and dependency and not with the effects of early childbearing per se on maternal and child health, family relationships and psychological development.

As McLanahan points out (1989), the research has been conducted within, and inevitably reflects, the highly polarized debate between feminists, liberals and conservatives about attitudes towards the single parent family form -- which has been alternately denigrated and saluted-- and mens' and womens' roles within the family and society.

The first wave of research findings on "fatherless" families, was interpreted as labelling the single parent family as a " broken", deviant form and highlighted the pathological behavior of children growing up in these families. These studies generally used small, selective samples and inadequate controls and were often seriously flawed, methodologically. In reaction, a second wave of research either dismissed the observed differences between one and two parent families as minimal or said they could be totally accounted for by differences in income. This research's useful contribution was to focus on the strengths and coping strategies of many single parent families.

More recent studies have taken a somewhat more balanced approach and are more sound methodologically. In addition, several studies have been able to draw on large, nationally representative data sets, many of which have a longitudinal design and which thus permit an examination of the long term consequences of single parenthood for the next generation. However many only examined the effects on daughters. These studies confirm that children in such families are disadvantaged in a number of ways, and that low income is certainly the primary but not the only source of this disadvantage.

- Children from mother-only families obtain fewer years of education and are more likely to drop out of school (controlling for place of residence, and parents education and income). Most significantly, if the single mother herself had not finished high school her children are much more likely to themselves drop out of school.

- Children from one parent families have been found to do slightly less well on standardized tests and school achievement but the differences are minimal. The differences are greatest for school attendance and grade point averages. This finding suggests that the single parenthood has more negative consequences on school related behavior than ability and achievement.

- Children from mother-only families obtain lower earnings in young adulthood and are much more likely to be poor. Living with a single mother increases the likelihood of becoming a welfare mother by 10 percentage points for whites and by 22 percentage points for blacks (McLanahan, 1988).

- Children who grow up in single parent households are more likely than children from two parent homes of becoming single parents themselves. White children from single parent homes are more likely to marry early, and have children early (whether within or outside of marriage and those who marry are more likely to divorce. The effects for black children are similar though not as strong with one exception: black children of single parents are not more likely to marry early.

- Children whose mothers were widowed do better on most of these indicators than those who were from separated, divorced or never-married families.

- Although the numbers of male-headed single parent homes are very small, researchers have not found significant differences in outcomes for their children compared with those living with only their mothers.

- A review of the research specifically related to the consequences of teenage parenthood comes to similar conclusions (Hofferth,1987). Age by itself does not appear to have much direct effect on the later economic well-being of teen parents and their children. Nor is age itself responsible for the poor health outcomes of early childbearing (which appear to be primarily a function of failure to get proper medical care and nutrition). Nor are young parents at any greater risk for abusing or neglecting their children, controlling for income. But since teenage mothers are more likely to be poor and they are more likely to experience all the disadvantages and risks attendant to poverty. The most significant factor affecting the outcomes of teenage parenthood, apart from income and marital status, is family size, i.e. numbers of children.

ADOLESCENT MOTHERS IN LATER LIFE

(Furstenberg, 1976; Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn and Morgan, 1987 a & b.; Furstenberg & Harris, forthcoming; Harris, forthcoming)

The research literature does provides compelling evidence that the children of teenage mothers are disadvantaged compared to those of older mothers primarily because they are more likely to grow up in a single parent household and more likely to be poor. However the research does not confirm the media portrayal of teenage parenting as a "one-way ticket to poverty and failure."

These studies of the risks of single parenthood and early childbearing report averages and probabilities of negative outcomes in percentage terms. They do not provide a detailed account of how and why many individuals are able to overcome the odds. There are clearly many teenage mothers and their children who manage to do quite well and largely overcome the disadvantage. Until recently we knew very little about how teenage mothers fared over time. What proportion of teenage mothers are able to rise out of poverty? How are some able to avoid long spells of welfare? How did their children fare? What factors accounted for their success? These questions could not be answered since there were virtually no longitudinal studies of this population and the programs that served teen mothers were short term.

The Baltimore Study

However the unique longitudinal study of early childbearing conducted by Frank Furstenberg and colleagues in Baltimore does provide some fascinating answers to these questions.The study is especially significant because it traces the life course over seventeen years of roughly 300 teenage mothers and their children presumed to be at greatest disadvantage, namely low-income, urban blacks . (The small number of white mothers in the original sample were not reinterviewed at the 17 year follow up.) It describes the diversity of their careers over the long term and examines the situation of their children as they themselves become adolescents a short generation later.

Launched in 1966, the study was conducted in two phases. First , 404 teenagers pregnant for the first time (attending a comprehensive health care program) and 350 of their mothers, were interviewed; 382 adolescent mothers were then reinterviewed one year after delivery, 363 three years later and 331 five years later, in 1972. A comparison group of 268 of their classmates who did not become pregnant were also interviewed at times 3 and 4. The study thus showed how the timing of a first birth altered the life course of young women in transition to adulthood, often quite negatively. However the authors even at that time were impressed with the diversity of responses of the young women who had so much in common. Clearly, five years after the event a substantial minority of the young mothers had managed quite well (Furstenberg, 1976).

Ten years later, in 1982, a decision was made to launch a follow-up study after it was determined, from a pilot search conducted by a survey firm, that the original mothers could be re-traced. In 1983-84 follow-up interviews were conducted with 289 mothers, 35 surrogate parents, and 296 of their children. The mother's interview incorporated an extensive life history calendar, recording significant residential, marital, childbearing, educational and employment events. The children/ teenager's interview included a number of questions taken from the National Survey of Children (NSC), a nationally representative longitudinal survey of children. Since funds were not available to reinterview the comparison group of classmates, the responses of the children/ teens were compared with a sample of black children with similar socioeconomic backgrounds on the NSC. And the responses of the adolescent childbearers, now in their mid-thirties, were compared with a group of urban mothers (both early and late childbearers with at least one child) who were interviewed in three other national surveys.

Findings of the Baltimore Study.

Two initial comments need to be made about the characteristics of this study which limit the generalizability of the findings to other populations of teenage mothers and the current time period. First, the sample's strength, namely the racial and geographical homogeneity of its population is also a limitation.There are no comparable studies of the experience over time of a group of white/ and or Hispanic low income, or middle income teen mothers, or of teen mothers living in suburban or rural communities.

Second, the social and political environment of the late sixties and early seventies clearly constrained the choices and decisions these young mothers made. For example, in 1972 abortion was relatively unavailable to urban pregnant teens, marriage was still a common response to a premarital pregnancy and schools did not make it easy then to continue their schooling. Later cohorts of teenage mothers confronting different environments made somewhat different choices. Nevertheless these caveats do not detract from the major lessons of this study: teenage mothers respond in many different ways to the problems and

challenges of early childbearing and a perhaps surprisingly large proportion overcome much of the initial disadvantage.

- **Schooling.** One of the surprising findings of the study was how much educational activity took place in the second phase. By the 5 year follow-up just under half the mothers had completed high school. By the time of the 1984 interview, 71% had graduated from high school, and nearly one third had engaged in further secondary education, a quarter had some college and 5% had graduated from college. However, compared to older childbearers in the national samples, the Baltimore mothers still, on average, attained a year less education.

- **Marital History.** In the late sixties and early seventies most women, including black women, who became premaritally pregnant elected to marry before or soon after the child was born. Thus at the five year follow-up in 1972 close to two-thirds of the Baltimore mothers had married, compared to only one-fifth of their never pregnant classmates, but, due to divorce, only 36.5% were currently married. In 1984, almost the same proportion were currently married, 34%. But many of these marriages were characterized by great instability: only 26% were in a first marriage and only 16% had remained married to the father of the study child.

  Comparing these results with the national surveys it is clear that the rate of separation and divorce among early childbearers in this sample was distinctly higher than for those who postponed childbearing. It is unclear, however, whether the greater marital instability is a direct result of the events of early childbearing and earlier marriage per se or whether it is linked with personal attributes of the mothers.

- **Residential History.** Most of the families had moved around quite a bit over the seventeen years. Half had changed residence four or more times, a fifth moved six or more times. At the time of the child's birth 72% were living with the maternal grandmother. In 1972 only about a quarter were still residing with their parents, though some of these were returns following a broken marriage. In 1984 only about 10% were living in a three generation household. In general however those mothers who were unmarried (never-married, separated or divorced) were more likely to be living with at least one parent. (There was no comparable data on the national samples).

- **Fertility.** At the five year follow-up it seemed that many more of the mothers were going to have even more children than they wanted or expected-- close to half wanted to have three or more children. Their fertility was way ahead of their classmates. Close to a third of the young mothers had been pregnant two or more additional times and a sixth had already had a third child. And throughout the first phase of the study the mother reported great difficulty using birth control effectively.

  However, another surprising finding was that by 1984 the vast majority of the mothers ended up with *fewer* children than they originally intended. Overall about one fifth never had a second birth, two-fifths had only one more child, 26% had two additional births and the remainder 12% had three or more children. Nevertheless, compared with later childbearers in the national surveys the Baltimore mothers had given birth to more children. However it is believed that over time this difference will disappear as the later childbearers may catch up.

Two national trends largely account for the Baltimore mothers acquiring greater control over their fertility: the increased availability of abortion and the growing use of sterilization. In 1984, over half (56%) of the Baltimore mothers reported having been sterilized. In 1982, 26% of all married women reported being sterilized. There are no national trend data available on sterilization for never-married or formerly married black women. Researchers are predicting that the effect of age of childbearing on family size may become less pronounced as sterilization and abortion become more available.

- **Family Income.** Combining the income and welfare data into a single measure Furstenberg and colleagues found that in 1984 the Baltimore women fall into four different income groups: one quarter are on welfare, a quarter are working poor with incomes below $15,000, a quarter have modest incomes between $15,000 - $24,999, and the remaining quarter are economically secure with family income exceeding $25,000. Although these figures dispel the myth that teenage mothers are destined to a life of poverty, they confirm the fact that they are substantially economically deprived compared to later childbearers on the national surveys who are much more likely to have incomes over $25,000 and much less likely to be poor or on welfare.

- **Employment Experience.** The mothers' rate of employment rose steadily during the course of the study but their periods of work were intermittent and their hours were usually less than full time. About one third were employed in the year their child was born, and all but one sixth had held a job by the end of the first phase of the study. By 1983, 72% had worked for at least 3 months in the previous year. In 1984 67% were currently employed and another 9% were actively seeking work. Of those employed, 94% were employed for at least 30 hours a week. Most held unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, and the average hourly gross wage was $6.40 a week. Comparing these patterns with the national samples it is clear that labor force participation was higher among women who postponed childbearing.

- **Welfare Receipt.** Unlike the popular stereotype, most teenage mothers do not become chronic welfare recipients. A sizeable group never receive welfare. And though the large majority do receive AFDC assistance it is usually for short periods of time. Close to a third of the young Baltimore mothers were receiving welfare assistance in 1972 compared with only 5% of their classmates who had not given birth. Over the course of the study 70% had received welfare at one time, but close to three fourths were off the welfare rolls by 1984. Half of all spells end within two years and less than a third of the mothers returned for a second spell.

Patterns of Welfare Dependency in the Baltimore Study
(Sources: Harris, 1989 (a) and (b), and forthcoming.)

Few studies have closely examined the experience of the youngest AFDC recipients, those who gave birth while they were teenager. Harris, conducted an analysis of the patterns of welfare dependency of the Baltimore women which revealed that a large number of the women worked while on welfare. This suggests strong motivation to work. However work often did not lift the women out of dependency because welfare mothers generally held low-wage jobs without employee benefits .

Interestingly, those who experienced prolonged spells of welfare were more likely to supplement the welfare with earned income than those who had only short spells. This is a

little surprising since it is assumed that the contact with the labor market would facilitate a more rapid exit than depending exclusively on welfare.

Exclusive dependence on welfare occurred primarily in the beginning of the study period when the mothers were still in school, with little job experience and caring for the baby. Another surprising finding, that differs from the results of previous studies, was that spells that began with separation or divorce lasted longer than spells that began at the time of the teenager's first birth.

What factors explain why some teenage mothers never needed to go on welfare, others were chronic recipients, and others were able to exit after a fairly short period? Harris's analysis provides some initial answers for the Baltimore sample. (See Table 1 on pages 31 and 32.)

- The 30.2% of the Baltimore mothers who never received AFDC during the 17 years following their first birth shared the following characteristics: they had high educational goals, did not grow up in a welfare family, had established a firm attachment to the labor force and were able to control subsequent fertility. In addition they spent a higher proportion of these years married.

- Only 13, i.e. 4.5%, of the women were **chronic recipients,** that is they received welfare for the entire 17 year period following their first birth. Of these only one never worked. About 25 % were **persistent recipients** who stayed on AFDC for 8 or more years.These Baltimore mothers who had prolonged spells shared the following characteristics: They had no high school diploma, their parent(s) did not have a high school education, they were more likely to have grown up in a single parent home and to have received welfare as a child. They were younger, less likely to be married and had rapid subsequent fertility.

- About 20% of the Baltimore sample were **early exiters:** recipients who left AFDC within 1-2 years. Typically they remained on welfare only while they were in school. They were able to exit when they got a higher paying job or became married.

  About 31% of the sample were **recidivists,** those who returned, after an exit, for at least one more spell. This was an interesting group who were clearly strongly motivated to work but whose cycles on and off welfare appeared to reflect a great deal of marital and job instability.

  One of the major factors that aided womens' exit from welfare was education. Those who had graduated from high school were twice as likely to leave welfare while working than mothers who had dropped out of school. Graduating high school was more likely to lead to a higher paying job and it was this job which was the main route out of welfare dependency for these young mothers. Rapid exits from welfare were also more likely when certain family resources were available: when the mother had lived in a two-parent household during her pregnancy, had a parent with a high school education or more, were among the older teenagers at first pregnancy, and did not enter welfare immediately upon first birth.

The Children's Experience.

The Baltimore study provided a unique opportunity to examine the life course of children of the sample of black urban teenage mothers. Information about the 296 children were

obtained at birth from their mothers, at the five year follow-up from their mothers and from tests administered to the children and at the 17 year follow-up, when they were an average of 16.4 years old, in interviews with the adolescents, their parents (or parent surrogates) and their teachers. Among the rich and complex findings are the following:

- The Baltimore mothers shared the responsibility of parenting throughout the years with various relatives and other adults, most especially their mothers, siblings, aunts, their child's father, husband, stepfather, boyfriend etc. At the five year follow-up, close to one half reported that someone else, usually a parent or other relative, provided the primary care of their child. Help from their parents (the child's grandparents) was very common even when they were not residing with them.

- The Baltimore mothers' relationships with men were characterized by impermanence. And their children were exposed to a tremendous diversity of living arrangements. However most of them had some kind of father figure in the home for at least part of their childhood. While most of the Baltimore children had some experience of living in a two-parent household at some time, only a tiny minority (9.5%) resided continuously with both biological parents over the first 16 years of life. A surprising number of fathers-- whether or not they had married the mother-- who did not live with their children maintained some regular contact and provided financial assistance. Approximately one third of the children had sustained contact with their biological father. Significantly, children living with their mother and either their biological or surrogate father were far better off economically than those living only with their mother. (For additional analyses of the data regarding the fathers see Furstenberg and Harris, forthcoming.)

- When tested at pre-school age the Baltimore children had lagged a little behind in their development compared with children of older childbearers. However one of the major disturbing findings was that once the children reached high school the study revealed "masssive school failure." Half of the sample had repeated at least one grade; 17% were in remedial classes, and nearly a half had had serious behavior problems in school, such as suspension. In addition, other behavior problems such as drug use, running away, and sexual activity were more commonly reported by the Baltimore adolescents than in the national sample of teen children of later childbearers.

- As expected the Baltimore teenagers were much more likely to become pregnant than teens of later childbearers. By 1984, 16% reported a pregnancy -- 26% of the girls and 7% of the boys.

- The researchers then linked the data from the mothers with the information about their children to explore the intersection of the two life courses. This analysis led to a number of interesting conclusions including, that, although early interventions are helpful it is seldom too late for an effective intervention. Children continue to benefit as their mother's life and economic situation improves. The chance of these children " making it" is affected not only by their own abilities and birth history but also by the extent to which their mothers can overcome the disadvantage of early pregnancy.

Lessons from the Baltimore Study.

The authors of the Baltimore study draw several conclusions and make a variety of specific policy recommendations for policymakers and program professionals . Major lessons which emerge include:

- It is important not to stereotype adolescent mothers and predict dire consequences for them. Their responses to the experience of early childbearing are very varied and changeable over time. Some teen mothers may take a while to pull themselves together and take advantage of services and opportunities offered to them. Policy strategies and services need to be made available not only in the initial months after their child's birth but also in succeeding years.

- Although many of the factors that help explain why some teenage mothers are more successful than others are not directly amenable to program intervention, others are. In this study for example, even the services offered for a brief time at the hospital-based clinic program and the special school had a definite positive impact. Another clear finding of this study is that any efforts that will help improve young mothers' earnings capacity and increase the availability of higher paying jobs for them will have substantial pay off in terms of reducing dependency.

- In any strategy it is important to identify the small group of teen mothers who are most at risk of long term poverty and dependency. They will require intensive and comprehensive services which will be expensive in the short run but, if successful, should save costs in the long run.

The book's recommendations are largely confined to service strategies that directly assist the teenage mother. It does not address broader issues of income support, nor the needs and responsibilities of the child's fathers although the findings provide a tantalizing glimpse of the important role that the childrens' biological fathers play in the lives of the mothers and their children. Nor does it discuss the policy implications of the resources and support that the teen mothers' families play at critical junctures in their lives.

THE ROLE OF THE YOUNG FATHERS IN THE POVERTY OF TEEN PARENTHOOD

Profile and Economic Status of Young Fathers

(Sources: Adams and Pittman, 1988; Bureau of the Census: 1987; Johnson and Sum, 1987; Lerman, 1985; Lerman and Ooms, 1988; Lerman and Ooms, forthcoming; OERI, 1988; Smollar and Ooms, 1988, Marsiglio, 1987.)

Much less is known about young, usually unwed, fathers than about teenage mothers. They, too, have been much stereotyped but in a different manner. They are portrayed as feckless and irresponsible, unwilling, as well as unable, to shoulder paternal responsibilities. In fact they are a highly heterogeneous group, exhibiting very varied responses to parenthood.

Most of the research information to date has come from self-selected, small unrepresentative samples of young fathers. However one national study, the national Longitudinal Survey of Labor Force Behavior of Youth (NLS) has provided useful periodic data on a large representative sample of young men who were aged 14-24 years old in 1979. This data source has permitted several analyses of young fathers'economic

and family circumstances and patterns of behavior. Nevertheless males' responses in surveys to questions related to fertility and marital history are not generally very reliable. For example they do not report fathering nearly as many children as are in fact born.

Paternity. It is difficult to determine the number and ages of the fathers of teenage mothers' babies. Two-thirds of unmarried teenage mothers provided no information about the baby's father on the birth certificate. Studies suggest that about 70% of the fathers of children born to teenage women are 20 years or older. On average, male sexual partners of teen women are at least two years older than their partners and many are in their mid-to-late twenties.

In 1984, 7% of young males aged 20-27 reported that they had fathered a child when they were teenagers. And nearly one half of the 19-20 year olds who said they were fathers were not married to the child's mother. Black young men were much more likely to have fathered an unwed child and much less likely to live with the child than males from other racial backgrounds.

Marriage. Recent decades have seen a decline in marriage rates and delays in age of marriage for all age groups. However one third of young unwed fathers married within 12 months of conception, and many others eventually marry although not always to the mother of their first born child. Unwed fatherhood is largely a transition state for young white and Hispanic men who are eventually likely to marry the mother of at least one of their children. However, unwed fatherhood more often ends up being a permanent status for black men.

Living arrangements. In 1984, approximately 80% of never-married young fathers ages 19-26 were not living with their children. Five percent of black unwed fathers, as compared with 1% of whites, did live with their child. Sixty percent of these young, unwed, absent fathers were living with at least one parent or other close relatives. Black and Hispanic youth of all income levels are more likely to be living with their parents or relatives than whites.

Education. Teenage fathers, regardless of their marital status, were much more likely to have dropped out of school than their non-father classmates. The largest and most consistent education gaps showed up among whites. Whites who became unwed fathers were four times as likely to have been high school drop-outs than other young men. In contrast, unwed black fathers came from only marginally worse educational backgrounds than other black men their age.

Employment, income and welfare. The median income of young adult male workers age 20-24 declined from $18,800 in 1970 to $14,150 in 1986 (in constant 1986 dollars). The median income of young unwed fathers is much lower. However the large majority of unwed fathers living at home averaged about $23,000-25,000in family income. But poverty rates among these families were nevertheless relatively high. Nevertheless, family incomes of young unwed mothers averaged about half this amount.

Young unwed fathers are at a distinct disadvantage in the labor market, but their situation is part of a general problem: Unemployment rates of young men have risen considerably over the last three decades and remain very high, especially for black youth. In 1986, the overall unemployment rate for 20-24 year old white men was 9.2% and for black men, 23.5%. Unemployment for white teenagers 16-19 year old was 16.3% and for black teens, 39.3%. However, in the NLS sample there was little difference in the unemployment rates of young black men prior to fatherhood between those who did and those who didn't become unwed fathers. In contrast, white young men who became

fathers were substantially more likely to be unemployed prior to the birth of their child than their peers who did not become fathers.

Young unwed fathers had below average educational and employment backgrounds than other young men, and test lower on various achievement measures. However the differences were larger for whites than for blacks and Hispanics. In general, white young unwed fathers were in worse economic circumstances and involved in more social difficulties (e.g. substance abuse, delinquency) than their non-father peers, whereas there was much less difference between young black unwed fathers and their non-father peers.

Living in a family that received welfare income was related to unwed fatherhood but not fatherhood per se.

Child Support and Visitation. Several studies, including the NLS, suggest that young absent unwed fathers provide, informally, more cash and in-kind support than the official census statistics convey, namely, that only 18% of unwed fathers are assigned support orders, and only 14% ever pay any support. For example, in the NLS 41% of absent unwed fathers reported making some child support payments (Lerman, 1988). The mean total reported payment for the year was $2,280, with white fathers reporting paying more than three times as much cash support as blacks and Hispanics.

The NLS data showed that payment of child support is strongly linked to visitation: of fathers who reported regularly visiting their child, 50% reported making child support payments. Over one half of absent fathers live within 10 miles of their child and visit at least once a week. White unwed fathers were more likely than blacks and Hispanics to live far away from their child.

Linkage Between Young Male Poverty and Family Formation

(Source: Johnson and Sum, 1987; Wilson, 1987; Ricketts, 1988; Lerman and Ooms, 1988; Lerman, 1989 (b).)

It is becoming widely accepted that one of the major factors in the high rates of black unwed parenthood is the inadequate financial resources of young black men resulting from their much deteriorated employment situation. The chief proponent of this hypothesis, William J. Wilson, together with his colleagues and others has argued that the declining pool of black men who are marriageable (that is, who are employed, not incarcerated etc..) largely explains the high rates of black out-of-wedlock childbearing. This thesis is highly plausibile especially when applied to the situation of black men and women who live in urban, underclass areas with such high rates of black male unemployment and non-marital births .

However, as Lerman (1989 (b).) and others have pointed out, both economic theory and empirical evidence are inconsistent with this explanation. The obverse of Wilson's view is that as rates of black male employment and wages rise, marriage rates would rise. Yet in fact, in the recent decades, marriage rates declined nearly as much for marriageable black young men as they did for the less marriageable. Similarly, when comparing high earners of both races, even among high earning young men, blacks are much less likely than whites to be married and living with their wives. Of the 27-29 year old men with earnings over $25,000, 53% of blacks were married versus 68% of whites. Moreover Wilson's thesis would also posit a relationship between area unemployment conditions and family formation. However,Lerman investigated this issue and found no significant relationship between the county unemployment rate and fatherhood outcomes. While we are left

without a satisfactory explanation for the family formation trends, there remain strong reasons for assisting both young fathers and young mothers to improve their earnings capacity and employment record.

What policy strategies and programs have been tried to help ameliorate the poverty and dependency of teen parenthoood? Most programs and policies have focused on the needs of teen mothers. Recently a few programs have begun to focus on young fathers but they have developed largely independently from the programs designed for adolescent mothers.

PROGRAMS THAT HELP TEENAGE MOTHERS

(Sources: Burt, 1988; Card, Ed. 1988; Hayes, 1987; Hofferth, 1987; Klein-Walker & Mitchell, 1988; McBride, 1988; Ooms, Ed. 1981; Polit & O'Hara, 1989.)

Social service programs have historically provided maternity homes, counseling and adoptive services to unwed mothers, but it was not until the early seventies that a number of new programs were set up in various parts of the country to provide a comprehensive array of health, education and social services for pregnant teenagers and teen mothers. Originally these programs were established in hospital and clinic settings and focused on providing short term health related services to the pregnant teen, new mother and baby. Gradually a wider range of needs were identified and began to be addressed and the outlines of a " model" of coordinated, comprehensive services for teenage parents began to emerge. This model was to serve as the basis for federal legislation which, in 1978, established the first federal program, the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy and Parenting Programs, in DHHS, specifically to target teenage mothers.

The broad goals of these comprehensive service programs are: to improve health outcomes for mother and child; to improve the young families economic situation by helping the mother complete her schooling and prepare for employment; and to reduce the probability of rapid, repeat childbearing. In addition many programs placed an emphasis on parenting education. Typically, these programs have received funding from a patchwork of multiple and shifting public and private sources. This has meant the programs have been in constant flux, and frequently experience high staff turnover. Nevertheless, teen parent programs such as these have been set up in many, many communities and clearly have been meeting a need. (Although they were usually designated as teenage parent programs, there was scant emphasis on serving the fathers- see below.)

Over the years, several networks of such teen parenting programs have been established that share information, sponsor conferences and newsletters and/or share a common funding or technical assistance source. In the past decade in particular, there has been a stronger emphasis on instituting formal evaluations of these programs in order to improve program effectiveness and justify continued funding. To reflect this new interest in finding out " what works", federal and some privately funded programs shifted from simple service delivery to becoming " demonstration "programs. Two of the major networks will be briefly mentioned and then two multi-site demonstration program, evaluated by MDRC will be described in a little more detail. (In June 1986, a working group of 19 experts , funded by the C.S. Mott Foundation, met for three days to discuss methods of improving standardization, coordination and the quality of evaluations of teen pregnancy and parenting programs, see J.J. Card, Ed. 1988.)

Adolescent Family Life Demonstration Program

The Adolescent Family Life Program (AFL) , administered by the Office of Population Affairs, DHHS, was established in 1981 and is authorized by Title XX of the Public Health Service Act. Its purpose was to develop and evaluate innovative approaches to reducing the negative consequences of adolescent pregnancy through comprehensive care services, and to discourage sexual activity through prevention services. The AFL program is a successor to a very similar grants program established in the Carter Administration (OAPPP). One of the major differences was stronger emphasis on evaluation. Other major new emphases were that programs were encouraged to promote abstinence as a method of prevention, adoption, and family involvement in services to the pregnant teenager and teenage parent.

3-5 year grants are awarded competitively ob the AFL office to community based programs to provide either " care services", "prevention services" or a combination. In 1988 AFL was funding 84 projects. (The Office's operating budget is modest by federal standards, approx $14 million each year.) Since its inception it has funded over 100 projects in every state and territory of the U.S. Each of these projects is required by statute to spend between 1-5% of its federal share on evaluation.

The Urban Institute was funded in 1980 to conduct an evaluation of the 38 projects then in operation under the OAPPP program (see Burt, 1988). The AFL staff have since provided technical assistance to the program directors and independent evaluators . Throughout this period there has been sporadic, but intensive, efforts from the federal office to try to help the programs establish comparable, computerized methods of collecting and reporting uniform data so that results from the programs can be compared. Although there has been some progress in the development of a minimum data-base the task has been a formidable one (See Card, Ed. 1988.) In general each evaluation has been as different as the programs themselves. With a few notable exceptions, for the most part the separate program evaluations have not been rigorously designed, the problems they faced of establishing adequate comparison / control groups have been formidable, and the resources available to implement the evaluations have been deemed quite inadequate.

The Too Early Childbearing Network

The Too Early Childbearing Network is a group of seven research and demonstration programs establiished in 1978 in different states which were designed to focus on the negative consequences of teenage childbearing through providing both prevention and remediation services. The programs, and their technical assistance/evaluation team, are primarily funded by the C.S.Mott Foundation. The TEC network programs are designed tro reflect community needs and resources, and thus each program is fundamentally different. The South West Regional Laboratory was given a contract to design an overall impact evaluation of these programs and provide technical assistance to, and hold semi-annual conferences for, the program staff to help them implement it. The final report should be available in early 1990.

Lessons From the Comprehensive Demonstration Programs.

After more than a decade of providing services to teenage parents, what has been learned from these comprehensive demonstration programs for teenage parents? Several lessons emerge: 1. Those programs with well designed and implemented evaluations were able to provide strong evidence of positive, short term effects, usually in those areas on which their program concentrated. Substantial long term effects however have yet to be

documented. 2. It is technically very difficult and expensive to mount rigorously designed evaluations that will answer the question, what works? It is especially difficult to compare results across independently run programs that are each so different and that themselves are in constant flux. And although much has been learned about how to target and implement services, none of the evaluations have yet been able to isolate the particular components of the program that account for any successful outcome. 3. Those programs that are not able to conduct full blown impact evaluations can still benefit from the feedback they get from the careful collection of management and service data in order to improve their service delivery. We now describe in more detail three of the most rigorously designed teenage mother/parent demonstration programs to date.

Project Redirection

(Sources: Polit, Quint, Riccio, 1988)

Project Redirection was implemented in 1980 as a national multi-site demonstration project with two aims: to provide young teenage mothers and pregnant teens with services that foster long term self-sufficiency and to test the feasibility and effectiveness of the model in assisting these women. The project was designed to provide answers to the questions: what helps this population and can intervention and services make a positive difference for these women later in their lives? Project Redirection was the first such ambitious program to incorporate a quasi-experimental design and multi-level evaluation, assessing outcomes over a five year period. Thus it was hoped that much could be learned about how teenage mothers could be helped to become economically independent.

Four sites were chosen and community organizations experienced with working with disadvantaged youth of the community were enlisted to run the programs. The sites were: Boston, New York City, Phoenix and Riverside, Ca. and served Puerto Rican, Mexican American, and black teenagers primarily. The Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) an organization that designs and evaluates programs aimed at helping the disadvantaged become more self-sufficient, helped the sites implement the program model and monitored local operations. MDRC, along with the American Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences evaluated the program to test its feasibility and effectiveness. In 1987, Humanalysis, Inc. conducted a five year follow-up of a sample of program participants and comparisons.

In 1983 the project was expanded to an additional 7 sites because of promising interim results. Seven community foundations and a state agency joined the Ford Foundation to finance the additional sites, which were located in Albuquerque, Atlanta, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Greenville (Mississippi), El Paso, and St. Louis.

Project Redirection targeted its services toward those women who were highly disadvantaged compared to other teen mothers. The women targeted were 17 years of age and younger, had a child or were about to have one, and received AFDC or were eligible to. Project Redirection targeted these high school age mothers because research shows that younger mothers tend to have more severe difficulties than older mothers.

Of the Project Redirection participants that were surveyed, three quarters reported that their own mothers had been teenage parents. Ninety percent were from ethnic minorities, most came from single parent households, and 59% of the teens had already dropped out of school when they joined Redirection. The mean age of the participants upon entering the program was 16 years. The teens also had severe family problems which complicated their

lives. A number of the women had abusive parents and while most of the teens reported that they could turn to their mothers for psychological support, alcoholism and drug abuse were common in a significant number of their homes.

Redirection sites began their recruitment of teens by going to other agencies in the community that were already serving pregnant and parenting teens. However, program operators and MDRC became concerned that this type of recruitment was only reaching the teens who were already motivated enough to seek help. Sites attempted to remedy this by diversifying their recruitment sources. As an incentive to stay in the program, teens were given a stipend of $30 a month. In the second year that stipend could be less if teens did not attend.

Project Redirection's operating costs averaged approximately $3,900 per participant, per year. These costs however do not reflect the full costs as they do not include the costs of outside agencies providing the brokered services. It was not feasible to conduct any cost/benefit or cost effectiveness studies of the program.

Program Activities

Project Redirection linked participants with existing services (such as schools, GED programs, and clinics) in their communities. The staff functioned as " brokers", referring, monitoring, and coordinating services for their teenage participants. The program supplemented these services with on-site workshops which imparted useful information about such topics as parenting and job seeking techniques and also allowed teens to discuss their experiences and problems in peer group sessions.

Two program features were an important aspect of the service delivery. First, the Community Woman Component matched the teens with older women in the community who served as mentors and role models, confidants and informal counselors. The community women also monitored the teens receipt of services. Second, the Individual Participant Plan (IPP), which was a document drafted jointly by the teen, her community woman and a program staff member which outlined the teen's goals and specified the activities she would participate in.

Implementation Issues and Problems

Most teens responded that the community women aspect of Project Redirection was very important to them, although the relationships were not always smooth. Some teens became very close to their community woman. And program staff felt they were very important in extending staff capacity. The component, however, was not without problems: some teens felt the community woman was either too distant or too prying. Alienation from her community woman was a major source of teen's dissatisfation with the program.

The "brokerage" model also posed some difficulties. Employability services were hard to locate. Some teens refused to return to public school, but were too young to attend GED preparation. In one site, staff felt that many participatns needed bilingual education that was not available.

The evaluation of Project Redirection consisted of an **impact analysis**, which looked at how successful the program was in having a positive impact on teen's lives; an **implementation analysis**, which looked at the program's feasibility and costs; and an

ethnographic analysis, which used field work techniques to examine in more detail the circumstances and background of a small group of participants.

MDRC research staff conducted the implementation and ethnographic studies. Humananalysis, Inc. and the American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences conducted the impact analysis under the supervision of MDRC.

The Impact Analysis

Project Redirection's impact analysis avoided some of the pitfalls of many other evaluations. The evaluation tracked several hundred young women -- both program participants and teens in a comparison group.The comparison group consisted of teen mothers who met the Redirection eligibility requirements but lived in cities not offering the Redirection program (a quasi-experimental design). The design attempted to match teens in terms of demographic, economic, and geographic similarities (i.e. San Antonio teens with Phoenix teens).

When teens from both groups were interviewed at the one year mark, the Redirection women appeared to be doing better in terms of schooling, employment, and postponement of another pregnancy. After two years however, most of these gains had disappeared. It appeared that the intervention had not effected much permanent change in the lives of these teen mothers. The two groups were very similar in their advances in terms of education, employment, welfare dependency and childbearing.

Three years later special funding was received (from the Office of Population Affairs/DHHS and the Ford Foundation) to conduct follow-up interviews with a sample of participants in three of the four original program sites and their comparison group counterparts. Approximately three hundred young mothers were interviewed at the five year mark when they were, on average, 22 years old. The findings showed advances for the Redirection parents in terms of employment and welfare receipt, home environment, and health and development of their children.

The Project Redirection women had made clear advances in terms of employment and welfare dependency. They were more likely to be working at the five year point, had higher weekly earnings and were significantly less likely to be receiving AFDC than their counterparts (49% vs. 59%). Furthermore, their children were doing better developmentally and the women themselves had better parenting skills. Redirection parents were more likely, for instance, to have enrolled their children in Head Start (47% vs. 34%). One area where the project was *not* successful was in decreasing the incidence of repeat pregnancies. Both groups had close to the same number of additional pregnancies, but the Project Redirection group was more likely to have had live births (the Project Redirection group had 2.4 live births as compared to 2.0 for the comparison group).

These encouraging results however need to be interpreted with some caution due to the nature of the comparison groups (non-randomized design). And several of the positive results were not statistically significant.

Lessons.

In summary, Project Redirection was able to help many of their participants make progress in some important areas of their lives. The evaluation gave program operators many useful ideas about what needs to be improved in teen parenting programs to increase the levels of participation and improve outcomes. One example is that the sites did not place a heavy

emphasis on sexuality or birth control, which could partially explain the higher rate of second and third births among Redirection women. Education is another area where Redirection had trouble motivating teens. On-site, intensive remedial education and individual instruction may need to be employed to help teens to do better in school.

Moreover, the evaluation also suggests that relatively short term, comprehensive programs for young mothers are not enough to counteract the many disadvantages they confront. After five years the majority still did not have a GED diploma, only a third were working, and a half remained on welfare.

PROJECT NEW CHANCE
(Source: MDRC, 1989.)

New Chance is a multi-site national demonstration project, launched in 1989, that attempts to build on many of the lessons learned from Project Redirection and help older teenage mothers move towards self-sufficiency. New Chance is funded by a consortium of private foundations and public agencies. Piloted in 6 sites, it is planned for operation in a total of 17 sites. The program targets older teenage mothers, ages 17-21, and their children, who receive AFDC and have dropped out of high school . This group is often too old for school-based programs who often miss out on needed services provided through JTPA and the welfare employment systems.

The older age of the recipients leads to a strong program emphasis in New Chance on voacational skills training, job search and job entry . Additional objectives are also to enable participants to control their fertility; to lessen dependence on public assistance; help participants learn life management skills; and to improve the cognitive, emotional and physical development of their children.

It is hoped that the New Chance programs can be used as a model in the states which will be putting together job training and self-sufficiency training programs for welfare recipients mandated by the Family Support Act of 1988.

Like Project Redirection, New Chance will measure its effectiveness through a follow-up evaluation of its participants. But unlike Project Redirection, New Chance plans to follow a *randomly* selected treatment group and control group of teens for three years. MDRC designed the model and will conduct the evaluation. The final report is slated for mid-1995.

THE TEEN PARENT DEMONSTRATION

The Teen Parent Demonstration is an education, training and employment program for teenage mothers operated by the public welfare agencies in Illinois and New Jersey in three sites, Camden, Newark and Chicago.The demonstration is funded by the Office of Family Assistance, Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS). Unlike the Project Redirection and New Chance programs, participation in the Teenage Parent Demonstration is mandatory for AFDC recipients age 19 or younger. Teenagers who are receiving AFDC for the first time either as the head of a household, or as part of another recipient's case, are identified through AFDC applications and must attend the Teen Parent Demonstration project in order to receive their welfare benefits (their children's portion of their benefits are not cut). In order to be in compliance with the program, teens must work, or be involved in education , at least 30 hours per week and must remain in the program until they are off welfare.

Also, unlike previous teen parent demonstration programs, the Teen Parent Demonstration planned to have a strong emphasis on encouraging paternal and financial reponsibility. Child support cases are prioritized for those teenage mothers who are participating in the programs and attempts are made to establish paternity for families where the father has not been identified. Also, fathers are eligible, through the program, for employment-related services in order to increase their long-run ability to pay support. (This component of the program has been difficult to implement thus far.)

The Teen Parent Demonstration is being closely watched by policymakers for guidance on the feasibility of implementing an effective teen parent work/training program through a public agency. The recently passed Family Support Act of 1988 will require states to enact the JOBS program nation-wide by 1990. The JOBS program has many features in common with the Teen Parent Demonstration program most notablyI the requirement to participate in education for those without a high school diploma. (However states may choose whether to require other young mothers with children under three years of age to participate.)

In order to find out where the program is succeeding or failing in providing help to teens, Mathematica Policy Research, Inc. is conducting an evaluation to follow 7, 200 teenagers who are randomly assigned to either "treatment" groups or "control" groups. Mathematica will also study implementation of the program, the child care supply and demand in the demonstration sites, the experiences, motivations, and circumstances of program participants; and the fiscal implications of implementing similar programs in other locations.

Begun in October 1986, the program is presently in its fourth and final year of operation. Follow up interviews will be conducted with all participants two years after their initial enrollment.

Although the outcomes for the participants are not yet available the evaluation has already yielded some valuable insights about the implementation of this program. Among these are: 1. It is clearly feasible to implement this type of program in a public agency setting. 2. It is critical to back up the mandatory participation requirement with the imposition of sanctions. Sanctions have been found to be the most potent tool to obtaining the participation of many young mothers who clearly otherwise would not become involved in the program. 3. The case managers's function is vitally important . Income maintenance workers can learn to perform this new role but they need a great deal of training to do so. 4. Ample clerical staff are needed to relieve the case managers of routine, but important, paperwork and tracking functions.

PROGRAMS THAT HELP YOUNG FATHERS

(Sources: Adams and Pittman, 1988; Kastner and McKillop 1988; Ooms and Herendeen, Nov.1988; Smollar and Ooms, 1988; Sander, 1986; Lerman and Ooms, Eds. forthcoming.)

Teenage fathers have been seen and occasionally interviewed and served within programs designed specifically for teen mothers. But rarely were any services designed and targetted specifically to help adolescent fathers until a new interest in teenage fathers surfaced in the early eighties. Conferences were held in 1986 and 1988 in Washington D.C. to review new research findings and policy and program developments addressing this neglected population. At these meetings it was clear that a number of programs were making

stronger efforts to reach out to the male, and there was considerable rethinking of the current pattern of neglect of the special problems and needs of teen fathers in programs dealing with paternity, child support. and employment and training. Jurisdictions in various parts of the country were experimenting with new approaches to target young fathers.

However the Teen Father Collaboration is the only multi-site program mounted to date to develop and evaluate models of comprehensive services for teen fathers similar to the demonstration programs targetted on teen mothers. Recently a new pilot project the Young Unwed Fathers Demonstration Project has been launched by Public/ Private Ventures.

Teenage Father Collaboration
(Source: Sander, 1986)

The Teen Father Collaboration was a two year national demonstration project designed to discover and document effective ways of working with adolescent fathers. The project, which was coordinated by Bank Street College of Education, included eight sites across the country. (Seven of the sites were already serving teenage mothers.) Housed in hospitals, schools and social service agencies, each of the eight programs designed their own ways of meeting the needs of young fathers. Generally a group of core services were offered which included personal, educational and vocational counseling and job training, parenting skills classes and prenatal classes.There was very little emphasis in these programs, however, on paternity and child support.

Young men were recruited in different ways. In about one-third of the situations they were brought in through their female partners. The others came through referral from youth serving agencies, media advertizing and the grapevine of social service agencies. In some of the programs special male staff were hired to do aggressive outreach in the community.

395 young fathers, the majority aged 17 and 18 years, were served in the Collaboration sites over a two year period. They came from a wide variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, most of them were poor and two-thirds were unemployed. Almost 75% reported some financial support of their child and many reported giving inkind support and assistance.

The evaluation collected both quantitative and qualitative data from program participants but there was no control or comparison group. Many of the participants made substantial gains in their employment situation and education. But the prmary value of the Collaboration was in the lessons that were learned about the background and characteristics of these young fathers, their needs and how to encourage them to participate.

Young Unwed Fathers Demonstration Project- Public/Private Ventures.

Teen fathers (ages 16-24) will be the target of a recently funded project to be conducted by Public/Private Ventures. The program, which plans to begin in the summer of 1990, will be piloted in three sites (not yet selected) and will attempt to teach young fathers parenting skills, and education and job training skills. The project will evaluate its services to understand what works with this traditionally difficult-to-reach population. The initial grant has been awarded by the C.S. Mott Foundation. Additional funds permitting, this project will replicate the demonstrations on a broader scale. Since little is known about motivating and training young unwed fathers (e.g. few programs have ever been funded to work with this population) findings from the program will be important for states wishing to use monies from the Family Support Act of 1988 to reach out to target young fathers.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

(Sources: Ellwood, 1987; Hayes, 1987; Lerman, 1989 a. and b.; Lerman and Ooms, 1988; Lerman and Ooms, eds. forthcoming; Levitan et al.,1989; McGrate, 1988; Smollar and Ooms, 1988.)

Research and program experience reviewed here suggests the need to shift to a more holistic, family-centered strategy on teenage parenthood. The poverty and dependency associated with early childbearing is a product not solely of attributes and behavior of the teenage mother but of the relationship between her and her male partner in the context of their social environment. *Both* parents' behavior, needs, responsibilities and circumstances need to be taken into account if they and their child are to be helped to overcome their disadvantages. In addition the background, resources and levels of support of the young parents' families may also be quite significant. Finally, the problems of adolescent parenthoodsneed to be considered as a separate yet component part of the problems of family poverty in general.

This shift in perspective is already underway. The prestigious National Academy of Sciences Panel on Adolescent Pregnancy and Parenthood recommended that the teenage/ young father needs to be held financially responsible for his child and also suggested that young fathers should be provided with employment and training programs to help them fulfil th eir responsibilities (Hayes, 1987). Levitan, Mangum and Pines in a new report (1989) addressing family poverty propose a " family investment initiative" on the grounds that " addressing the needs of the poor (and near poor) as members of families, rather than individuals, can vastly improve their chances of achieving and maintaining self sufficiency." .

No single approach can be expected to make much headway with such a multi-dimensional problem. The strategies need to be multi-pronged and tackle different aspects of the problem. This shift in perspective, however, results in opening up a much broader array of policy strategies and specific goals than has traditionally been considered by those concerned with teenage motherhood.

Ellwood (1989) divides current anti-poverty /welfare reform proposals into three policy streams: 1) The welfare-based strategy consisting of a series of incremental reforms designed to transform welfare into a more transitional and politically acceptable form of support. 2) The nonwelfare strategy which relies on various kinds of income supports and subsidies outside the welfare system . 3) Macro economic policies which aim to improve the number and type of jobs available, especially in the innercities and to improve the social and educational institutions in those communities.

The Family Support Act passed in 1988 incorporates a few components of this broader strategy in the sense that it addresses the child support responsibilities of *both* parents although the provisions that aim to bring the unwed father into the child support system may not be sufficiently strong to be effective. Moreover the Act fails to target the young fathers for the supportive education, job training and employment services that it provides the young AFDC mothers (except in the demonstration program that may be mounted in up to five states.) Numerous questions and issues remain unresolved about how the Family Support Act will be implemented by the States and the extent to which adolescent and young unwed parents will be targetted and served by the JOBS program, transitional benefits and the child support services.

We conclude this review of recent research related to teen parenthood with a listing of some of the main implications of this research for policy that addresses poverty and dependency of this population. (Note: these goals do not address many of the non-economic problems and needs teen parents may have related to being effective, responsible parents) This research suggests that an effective policy strategy would include the following specific goals, no one of which would be sufficient by itself;

1. To increase the earning capacity of young mothers and young fathers.
(and thereby the capacity of the fathers to pay child support)

- Research suggests that improving educational levels is critical to helping young parents improve their economic situation. In addition, maternal education is strongly associated with their child's school achievement and earnings. Program experience suggests that simply encouraging young mothers and fathers to return to high school or get their GED may not work for the most disadvantaged. Education and training programs need to be tailored to these school drop-outs, those who are alienated from high school and those with family responsibilites.

  In addition, an analysis of the labor market experience of young black women in the NLS suggests that for black women increased education is not as likely to lead to increased earnings. Thus the payoff to postponing first (and presumably subsequent) births is lower for black women than white and they may have les incentives to get off welfare(McCrate, 1988).

  The Family Support Act mandates that educational services must be provided to all JOBS participants. The design, organization and sponsors of these services are subject to much discussion in the educational and welfare community (see W.T. Grant, 1989). To meet the needs of disadvantaged youth, Lerman has proposed to establish a structured set of internship programs in the high schools, modelled somewhat on the apprenticeship programs that are so successful in West Germany (Lerman,1988). These programs would strengthen the weak link between schools and employers and may provide a much more effective route into the labor force for non-college bound youth, including young parents.

- The JOBS program initiated under the Family Support Act , together with the year's transitional child care and medical benefits, is designed to help welfare recipients become economically independent. However it may be unrealistic to expect many of the young single mothers to be enrolled in education/ training or job programs full time since, as Ellwood and others point out, only a minority of married mothers are. The Baltimore study suggests that many young mothers combine work and welfare in part perhaps due to the logistical difficulties of working full time even when their children are enrolled in school (e.g. due to difficulties of obtaining schild care after school and during school vacations, sickness etc.)

  Many lessons have been learned from the various demonstration projects about how to implement work/welfare programs for adolescent and young mothers. Major questions remain however about how these models can be institutionalized, that is incorporated and adapted to the structure and resources of public bureaucracies.

- Given the intergenerational transmission of low levels of education and welfare dependency it has been suggested by Levitan and colleagues and others that a family strategy to improving levels of literacy, and jobs training and employment is

most appropriate when two generations within the same family are in need. Thus programs that provide these services to both young parents and their parents have been proposed and in some communities are being tested (see Lerman and Ooms, 1988).

2. To increase the levels of child support.

- The first step is to find ways of greatly increasing current low rates of legal paternity establishment. At present there is considerable resistance to this idea. The long run benefits to the child of establishing paternity, and children's rights to know their father, are not well understood. Numerous barriers need to be overcome through providing information and education to the public, community organizations, human service professionals, welfare caseworkers, and the young unwed mothers, fathers and their families (Smollar and Ooms, 1988 and Lerman and Ooms, eds., forthcoming). The process of paternity establishment needs to be made less punitive and burdensome. And states need to be provided with incentives to vigorously pursue paternity. The Family Support Act has taken some initial steps (for example, requiring social security numbers on the birth certificate) but it is very unclear how the states will implement these provisions (See Ooms and Herendeen, 1988.)

- One strategy to help bring young unwed fathers into the child support system that is sometimes recommended is to permit young fathers, whose income may initially be very low, to provide inkind assistance in lieu of cash payments. This option is currently being tested in a number of localities, most notably in Indianapolis, from various demonstrations. Another strategy is to include the unwed fathers' family/ household income in establishing appropriate levels of support which would tap into the resources of his parents when he is living with them and they may be pooling income and sharing expenses. Another option is to require young fathers in default of payment to enroll in jobs search, training and employment programs in lieu of fines or imprisonment.

3. To increase and stabilize the levels of public income support for welfare dependents and the working poor in order to make work pay.

- Numerous suggestions have been made to move towards this goal but several proposals in particular are gaining attention and support namely the Child Support Assurance Program, currently being tested in Wisconsin, increasing the Earned Income Tax Credit, making the child care tax credit refundable and so forth. (Federal legislation to expand the EITC and make the child care tax credit refundable is currently being debated). The Child Support Assurance Program would be established along the lines of the social security system, would automatically collect child support from absent fathers and ensure that the custodial parent gets a regular support check every month. Proposals to increase the minimum wage also fit into this strategy.

4. To provide child care, health benefits and other needed support services to help young parents tengage in employment and other related services; to coordinate and simplify these services and the complex requirements of the welfare system.

- The Family Support Act requires states to assess the child care and support service needs of JOBS participants and includes several provisions to provide child care services for those enrolled in the JOBS program, which continue for a transitional year upon exit. However at this point it is unclear how the states will implement

these provisions (see April 28th, 1989 child care seminar background briefing report).

- Few proposals address the issue of bureaucratic simplification of the welfare system but the Family Support Act includes an emphasis on the development of individualized service plans and the use of case managers to help identify, conduct, and manage services required by the JOBS participants. The question of who these case managers will be and whether and how they will receive adequate training to function effectively will need to be addressed by the states.

5. To assist young parents to avoid a second and subsequent pregnancies at least until they are more economically able to support them.

- It is clearly necesary, but not sufficient, to provide young mothers with education and access to family planning services. The Project Redirection experience and many other programs suggest that it is a very difficult task to assist young mothers to postpone future childbearing. The key is clearly motivation and the development of sufficient maturity. Young women will not learn how to practise successful birth control until they can see why it would be to their advantage not to have more children. Further, few programs to date have made deliberate efforts to include the young mothers' male partners in efforts to improve birth control practice.

6. To assist young parents to have stable marriages.

- Research clearly demonstrates that those teenage mothers who marry and are able to *stay* married usually avoid serious poverty and long term dependency. Yet this objective is rarely mentioned in policy and program discussions. Given the high rates of immediate marital-breakup of adolescents, marriage is seldom proposed as an immediate solution to an unwed pregnancy. Few proposals have been put forward that suggest any direct strategies or services to help young people make wiser marriage choices and, once married, help them to make the marriages work. However such programs do exist and are offered to young people in various communities around the country. And, given that many family support and service demonstration programs for adolescent mothers (and sometimes the fathers) provide a strong and effective emphasis on parenting education (for example Project Redirection), it is a little surprising that there has been no focus to date on providing these young parents with marriage education and support.

- However several of the strategies suggested above are proposed as perhaps an indirect route to stablizing teen marriages, for example, those programs that improve young men's employability and earning capacity may thereby make more young men "marriageable". Such earnings strategies it is believed might also help avoid marital breakdown. There is scant evidence however that such an indirect approach to encouraging marital stability would be effective.

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